

Mr. József ANTALL (Prime Minister, Republic of Hungary)

(interpretation from German): Mr. Chairman, it is a very special feeling to be a participant in this Summit which declares division and confrontation null and void and heralds the beginning of a new epoch of post-war European development.

The realization that the changes that have taken place in Hungary had their share in bringing about this historical reversal is of great significance to us. After decades of confrontation, new perspectives for co-operation based on common principles and values are now opening up for the participating States of the Helsinki process.

There can be no doubt that the Helsinki Final Act and the process that it set in motion have played an important part in the achievement of this historic reversal. The free nations, which took a consistent stand in favour of human rights, have undying merit for bringing this about.

Human rights, the free flow of ideas and information, and the intellectual freedom and freedom of movement of the individual long remained an unfulfilled promise in our region. CSCE forums, however, permanently confronted the Central and Eastern European regimes with the European system of values and paved the way for a change of system.

We must acknowledge the immense efforts made by Mr. Gorbachev and other Soviet reformers to find a progressive way out of the crisis-ridden political and economic system and to promote the restoration or establishment of a system of free institutions in the Eastern part of Europe.

With the crumbling of the Berlin wall, which for decades had been the symbol of confrontation in Europe, the division of Germany came to an end. European unity is inconceivable without German unity, which, now that it has come about, has relieved our continent of a forty-year old burden. Hungary played an active part in setting this process in motion.

The documents of this Summit are not only a worthy expression of our common will to bring about a united and free Europe, but also an important factor of stability in Central Eastern Europe.

I note with satisfaction that the new democracies, despite the great difficulties caused by the change of system, have played a full part in the common European effort. Their readiness for compromise, sober-minded assessment of the situation and the interests involved, as well as their sense of responsibility, were all displayed in the course of the negotiations. All this made it possible for them to overcome their divergences, which are rooted in their history and have accumulated over the decades of the past regime. This sober-mindedness and readiness for compromise are equally promising for the future. They are a convincing argument showing that the establishment of democracy and the achievement of freedom do not necessarily lead to disaster in the field of international relations.

The fulfilment of the objectives that Hungary pursued in the course of the disarmament negotiations and the agreement on troop withdrawals concluded with the Soviet Union in spring this year will help Hungary to regain her full sovereignty before long. Full independence is a prerequisite for us to be able to strengthen our ties with the process of European integration.

One task that Hungary and the new Central Eastern European democracies have to face is the redefinition of their relations and their security policy. Developments so far confirm that the emergence of what has been called a security vacuum is not inevitable in our region, even if we are to witness the disappearance of multilateral organizations that have lost their real function, such as the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Hungary has frequently explained its position on this matter. We are pleased to note that the States Parties to the Treaty agree that the military organization should be dissolved. We trust that the conditions for fully dissolving the Warsaw Treaty within the framework of the European security process will be available before the end of 1991 or in early 1992 at the latest.

Mr. Chairman, the first major step on the road leading Hungary back to Europe was taken when Hungary became a member of the Council of Europe two weeks ago. With that accession, our integration into the system of European

political, social and legal standards has been accelerated. These standards will have a direct impact on a number of areas of Hungarian society, including the economy, culture, health, the environment and the protection of human rights.

We will be able to come up to the European level of development only when we can join the European Community both economically and politically. We hope that the negotiations on a treaty of association between Hungary and the European Community will open this year, so that we may become an associate member by 1 January 1992. In addition, on the basis of the principles and intentions expressed in the declaration of the 22, we wish to establish co-operative relations and a security partnership with a reformed NATO and with other European organizations.

We are aware of the fact that it will take time before the new democratic institutions in Central Eastern Europe are consolidated into a stable working political system. It is in the interests of both East and West to find appropriate forms of co-operation for the transitional period. It is not simply Western aid we need, but an expansion and acceleration of political dialogue and economic integration. Otherwise, a new welfare wall may rise up in place of the dismantled Iron Curtain.

I believe that the Summit is fulfilling a historic mission by formulating common principles and values for the participating States and enabling the CSCE process to fulfil its new duties through the establishment of appropriate institutions.

The human dimension has, from the outset, been an essential building block of the CSCE process. In our view, the strengthening of democracy and democratic institutions, the full implementation of human rights obligations and their continuous monitoring continue to be a priority for the future. Despite changes in the direction of democratization, national and ethnic minority problems continue to appear in Europe, sometimes in more acute form than before. We are of the opinion that these problems can only be dealt with by permanent dialogue, by observing the standards of the Council of Europe and by implementing CSCE commitments.

Mr. Antall

Mr. Chairman, Europe and North America - I think I am justified in calling it our Atlantic community - have long been torn by devastating wars, while different countries in the course of the century have flouted the moral order by propounding evil theories. Nations lost their independence, others waited hopelessly for the enjoyment of their right to self-determination. Now the world echoes to the watchword of freedom and this demand must be met to everyone's satisfaction. The European countries living together in peace and security are now laying the foundations of a continent of stability and prosperity. There has never been a more promising moment in the history of Europe than now, when all the countries of the continent and the two great North American States declare their commitment to solving all problems solely by political, legal and economic means, which are readily available to our many-thousand-year-old civilization, and not by resorting to arms. It is in our common interest to turn this promise into reality.

We trust that once we have eliminated confrontation and no longer regard each other as adversaries, when we strike a balance at a lower level of armaments, there will be no country in which an affronted military establishment will indulge in a political adventure and attempt to bar the way to the development of democracy through a show of power politics. Any such attempt would be incapable of solving serious economic and social tensions.

On the threshold of the twenty-first century, Europe and North America have to find one another, since they may have to face new challenges in the field of power politics, energy, social affairs and ideologies that are alien to us, often in the shadow of international terrorism, which makes it necessary to restore our historical unity and our intellectual and moral solidarity. This historical responsibility is now placing a heavy burden on the participants in the Paris Meeting. We must not falter under this burden, but, with our heads held high, look the world and future generations, I hope, in the eye.

In the name of my delegation and on my own behalf, I would like to thank our hosts, and President François Mitterrand of France in particular, for the excellent and elegant organization of this Summit Meeting.

Thank you for your attention.